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Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

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631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

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701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

727 the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

[106]

●[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugererо) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[787] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king 701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

643 173 551 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.
794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor
794 those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

●701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

701 A general is called umugabe, an army corps umutwe, and an army on the march igitero, from the verb gutera, "to attack."

For the sake of documentation, here is a list of the names of the army corps, /370/ those of the regions where they are recruited, and the names of the born generals /généraux-nes/ who lead them.

Army Corps	Region	Generals
Ndala	Burwe	Lwasamanzi
Imvejuru	Bwana-Mkale	Chytatire
Nyaruguru	Buyenzi and Bungwe	Sebagangari
U Ruyange	Various regions	Lwabutogo
A-Bashumba	Part of the Bungwe	Kabera
Nyakale	Nyakale	Sezikeya
Impamakwicha	Busanza	Luharamanzi
Inzirabgoba	Buhanga	Lugerinyange
Abashakamba	Bwana-Chambge	Lwabusisi
Intaganzwa	Various regions	Nturo
Impara	Kinyaga	Lwakataraka
Issumo	Nduga, Lukiga	Rwidegembya
Abakembanyi	Bugarama	Gisazi
Abiru	Southwestern Kinyaga	Birassenyeri
Abakemba	Bugessera and Buganza	Mafene
Abahirika	Migongo	Muligo
Abarassa	Gihumya	Kanuma
Abadahigwa	Mirenge	Gashamura
Indengabanizi	Various regions	Mudukikwa
Abalima	Mututu	Gamakwandi
Abalito	Nduga and Buganza	Nyakassaza
Ndushabandi	Buganza and elsewhere	Lukarakamba
Abadahemuka	Gisseke	Machari
Imitari	Eastern Mayaga	Buzizi
Ibisiga	Mutara-Ndorwa	Zimulinda
Abashakamba	Bugoyi (Abagwabiro)	Lwangeyo
Abatalindwa	Bugoyi, Bgishaza	Bushako
Abakemba	"	Mugemanshuro

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkalé and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

644 bears the meaningful name of intore, from the verb gutora, "to
556 choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (imyambar' abami) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut
356 which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (ibyahi), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called Abashahsi, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word gusasa, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 H. The "Irresistibles" (Intalindwa) take their name from the
●701 army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (abahetsi b' ingobyi) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (Intalindwa, "those who cannot be resisted").

644 They were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of Impara is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (amashira y' inkwavu) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (ibiharangu), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (ibinyuguri), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.
Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

644 A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
791 length in "History of a Reign," /Book III, not translated/. They were direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!). This phrase is now proverbial.

1 [i.e., the Intalindwa. -Analyst]

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
•701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
[302] wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding. Spell Casters and Bewitchers. Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
644 thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

651 491 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 443 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu. In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 643 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

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of coercion at their disposal. If a mwami attempted to go beyond his effective power even without exceeding the limits of his divine rights, he exposed himself to the chance of meeting some obstacles. Nevertheless, he had sovereign as well as divine rights and his subjects were constantly reminded of these by the tributes they had to pay.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

Every Ruanda, Twa, Hutu as well as Tutsi, was affiliated to an army (*ingabo*). This is stated by ninety-nine per cent. of our informants. Although this military organization is obsolete at the present day—indeed it no longer exists—ninety-eight per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed can still give the name of the army of their paternal ascendants.

There were several armies. The name of each one had a military meaning. It was a challenge, a boast, the memory of a dynastic or historical event: for instance 'the tough ones' (*abashakamba*), 'the first to be praised' (*imbanzamihigo*), 'the fearless ones' (*inzirabwoba*), &c. At the beginning of each reign a new army was organized by the king. Moreover, a very important chief could be authorized by the mwami to raise an army.

(*a*) *Recruitment*

An army was recruited in the following way. The mwami asked his Tutsi clients to bring to the court their sons who had not yet had any military training. When about 150 to 200 young men were gathered, they constituted what we may call a company (*itorero*). During the reign, four or five companies were recruited in the same way and were added to the first one. According to ninety-six per cent. of our informants a man had to stay all his life in the company he had first entered. The young men (*intore*, the chosen ones) lived at the court of the king or of the chief who had been allowed to recruit an army. Under the direction of an officer called the chief of the king's residence (*umutware w'urugo rw'umwami*) or of its counterpart at a chief's court, they were trained for several years in military skills such as bow and arrow shooting, the use of the sword, spear, and javelin. They learned warlike dances, and to memorize and to recite the poems in which the high deeds of extraordinary bravery and boldness of the past warriors were exalted.[18] They were also taught how to compose

[18] See Kagame, 1949*b*; 1951.

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Finally, the cattle that the warriors of an army could personally effectively dispose of were also considered as army cattle. There was a distinction between cows obtained from an overlord and *imbata*. Warriors' cattle, however, were linked to the army differently from herdsmen's: only the cattle of the latter were submitted to the different taxes I am going to examine now.

Each army had its own grazing grounds, particularly for the *nyambo*, *mabara*, and the chief's cattle as the other kinds were usually kept by those who had usufruct rights over them.[18]

(d) Tribute due by the army

Besides the personal services mentioned earlier (training, watching at the border, defending the country, foreign expeditions), each army had to provide the king, the court, and its chief with other benefits.

On a new king's accession, each patrilineage of the army had to give him a cow. This gift (*indabukirano*) showed the recognition of the authority of the person to whom it was offered. At the beginning of each reign there was also a ceremony called *murundo*, during which all the cattle of an army were numbered and presented to the king. A certain proportion was retained by him. Cattle raided by the stick-bearers (*abakoni*) of the army belonged to the king, according to eighty-seven per cent. of our informants.

Warriors and herdsmen of each army had the duty of keeping in order a part of the royal residence (*incyubagaba inkiko*), according to ninety-three per cent. of our informants.

Each army was obliged to keep at the court a few cows to provide the king with fresh milk (*inkuke*). This herd was called *intamara* and was looked after by an officer, *umutware w'intamara*. According to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants, to provide *inkuke* was the duty of the herdsmen's section only. Besides they had to deliver daily to the court a certain number of milk jars (*igicuba*), according to ninety-nine per cent. A very important majority of Tutsi interviewed (eighty-nine per cent.) said that herdsmen had to supply the court with the necessary slaughter animals (*indwanyi*). Finally, each army had to provide the court with young steers used for divination purposes (*amamana*). According to fifty-five per cent. of our informants these had to be

[18] On this section, see Kagame, 1952.

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provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[80] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

[80] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(d) Redistribution of wealth

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abahoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inhomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

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be favoured. This was a kind of redistribution of wealth among the lineages of the army made according to the preferences of the army-chief. Thirdly, the warriors as such did not receive cows from the army-chief (but they could be at the same time warriors and herdsmen). Their only privilege as warriors was to loot privately after the *abakoni* had laid hold on the 'bow of the army'. Moreover, if they had shown any particular gallantry, the mwami or the army-chief rewarded them with a gift of a few cows.

(e) *Protection*

When compared with the considerable benefits in cattle that the king and the army-chief derived from the military structure, the advantages of ordinary army members, particularly the warriors, seem to have been very meagre. The army tribute in goods and services were compensated for in a different way by the protection extended to his subordinates by the army-chief.

This protection could be asked for and received in all the difficult circumstances of life without being limited to any particular kind of circumstances. An instance frequently mentioned by our informants was the army-chief's support to one of his subordinates who was a party in a lawsuit. If the protection of a man of high standing appeared useful or necessary in such a situation one must suppose that judicial decisions were not taken only on the case's own merits, but that the respective power of the two protectors was weighed by the judge.

The army-chief's protection was diffuse and general, not limited to a few cases clearly defined. We have already come across such a characteristic of the superior's protection in respect of the chiefs of the administrative hierarchy. This suggests that power relations were emphasized in Ruanda and that the rights and properties of isolated men, that is to say those not identified in any respect with a powerful one, were insecure.

The judicial role of the army-chief must be related to his function of protection. In the disputes between two members of his army, he exercised a kind of paternal jurisdiction, as did any Ruanda authority. In contentions between members of different armies, the fact that the question was settled by the army-chiefs concerned suggests more a compromise in which each chief acted as a representative of one of the litigants, than a judgement based on pre-established norms.

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The army-chief's protection was not unconditionally granted to any army member. The chief could refuse to give support to one of his subordinates if he had been disobedient or disloyal. It was up to the chief himself to decide if his warrior or herdsman had an objectionable attitude. The fact that the chief was the only judge of the attitude did not, of course, give the subordinate the assurance of a fair treatment; however, the chief could not indulge often in arbitrary refusals of help because a member could always leave the army and join another if allowed to do so by the chief of this other army. Moreover, the principle of recourse to a superior authority against an intermediate authority was operative here also. If discontent was widespread in an army, the chief could be dismissed by the mwami. Consequently the chief had to take into account public opinion to some extent and could not be indifferent to his popularity. It is clear, however, that the means of pressure that a chief did have on his subordinates were more efficient than the ones subordinates had on him. They had thus to assume a submissive attitude and to gain the chief's favour by gifts and proper behaviour.

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The different functions of the military structure of Ruanda were profitable mainly to the rulers: they contributed to the maintenance in power positions of those who were occupying them. Through that structure, the king secured, in addition to what he received from his tax collectors, an important amount of commodities (necessary for the upkeep of a numerous court), more cattle (consequently the possibility to increase the number of people personally bound to him), and a more complete control of all the chiefs under him (by the possibility of a direct recourse of the subordinates to the royal supreme authority). The ruling position of the army-chiefs was also consolidated by their increase of control on cattle.

The preceding analysis has also disclosed how the army was an important instrument of domination for the Tutsi caste. Warriors being recruited only among Tutsi, organized physical force was exclusively theirs. They alone had in their hands the ultimate basis of political power. Moreover, by the serious training of the *intore*, the aristocratic values and virtues so well adapted for domination were inculcated into the new generations.

The army organisation was also a factor for maintenance of the

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The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
564 Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
186 stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

612 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(*a*) *The king*

693 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[88]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[88] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[8] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[9] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[8] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [9] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

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Ruanda rulers were able to check successfully these tendencies
towards the fragmentation of the political unity of their country, first, by the ritual character of the royal power.

To revolt against the king, identified with Ruanda and supported by Imana, was a sacrilege and a profanation. It is not claimed that such a theory was sufficient to secure the kings with effective power indefinitely. Elsewhere similar ideologies of absolute and divine power of the monarchs have not prevented some of them from being stripped of their real authority, whereas their divine prerogatives were still respected. The ritual sanction does not seem to have had a primary importance in the maintenance of submission to the Ruanda kingship. In 1896 or 1897, a young mwami, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa, was assailed and eventually lost his life in a revolt instigated by the brother of the queen-mother. That queen-mother was not the mother of the mwami but another wife of his father. Her clan, the Abega, wanted a son of hers as mwami.[5] This shows that when the king lost effective control of power, ritual sanctions were not an effective safeguard for his prerogatives, or even for his life. This is why it has not been thought necessary to expand on the ritual aspect of the Ruanda kingship. But it certainly was a factor which contributed to the obedience of the Ruanda nobles.

Another check was that the king kept at his disposal the coercive force of the armies. Even if the rebel had the support of one or two armies, the king had all the others.

But the main factor which I think prevented local authorities from asserting their independence from the central government, was the plural character of the political and feudal organization. In connexion with the maintenance of the effective power of the central government, this plurality of structure was a very effective means of maintaining misunderstanding, hostility, and jealousy among the subordinate chiefs. It is certain that the *shebuja* of our example in the preceding section, would have been only too glad to denounce to the mwami the army-chief if the latter was indulging in suspicious manœuvres. The co-existence of chiefs of almost the same rank who were constantly induced by their subjects to take sides in disputes was sufficient to create mistrust among themselves. Moreover, conflicts were numerous, particularly when two chiefs had the same territorial power (as in the case of the cattle- and land-chiefs). To settle conflicts they had to resort to the

[5] Pagès, 1933, pp. 195-206.